If there is doubt about the type of initial tone level in a word, then a comparison of the questionable word with others made up of the same sounds is decisive. Thus you might doubt whether the word for "green" should be written !am or !a/m, because the voice is so close to the border between the middle and high tone. A comparison with the word !am "to join to each other" which is pronounced obviously deeper down decides for the high tone (combined here with a falling tone extension). But that in this word the voice actually has a middle and not a low tone setting we learn from the designation for "glass bead," the word !a/m, because the voice reaches its lowest level in pronouncing this word.

[346] The musical modifications of the !ama sounds stand out most clearly in their variations and in their value for the understanding of the language, when they separate distinctly two words that would otherwise sound alike.* To illustrate this meaning of the three different initial tonal

* The signs used here and in the following text are missing still in some few words which were mentioned in the previous text. The method of writing them that is used in the following list is the correct one.

levels, the following examples are presented: 194 192

1. /aha· • red
   /a/ha·ɔ : the north
   °/a/ha·b : the taste of blood in the mouth
2. !aǂ : to test
   !aǂ : to jump
3. !aǂm : green (as a verb: to shine around)
   !aǂm : to join to each other
   !a/ma : the glass bead
4. /aǂ : to whore
   /aǂ : to listen
   (aǂ : to sprinkle)
5. /gaǂm : to be warm
   /gaǂm : two
6. //gaǂ : to hang bead necklaces around the neck
   //gaǂ : to be thin
   (//gaǂ : to go off to war)

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7. //ga/ru-s : the skin sack
//garu-b : the hole that collects water in the rocks
8. /gare-b : the obstruction
"/ga/ra-b : the berry-like fruit of the Rhus lancea L.f. (Anacardiaceae)
9. "!ga/ha-b : name of a species of Rhinopum (Bignoniaceae).
!ga'ha-b : the water bag
10. !gau' : to fasten a skin with pegs that is stretched on the ground to dry
!gaũ : to cross something on one's way
!gau/ : to make something even by lopping: to bump ankles when walking
11. #gi/ : to prepare sugar beer, to implant
[367] #gi' : to be bald
12. gau/ : to hide oneself
gau' : to become fat
13. /go/m : with bushy hair
/go'm : to suck blood
14. /gau/ : to give another nursing mother to a baby
/gau// : to feel about in the dark
15. //goa· : to beseech
//go/a· : to threaten
(//go-a : to become light)
16. #go/a-b : mud, the dregs of the sugar beer
#go'a-b : the bed skin
17. #go/ma-b : the dregs of a liquid
"#go'ma-b : the striped mouse (see p. 287, no. 36)
18. #gau/ : to push away with the fist
#gau' : to bump into
19. //gu/b : the father
//gu'b : the springbok
//gu!b : the tooth
20. //ha/i· : to flee
//hai· : to scrape hair from a skin
21. !hai'b : the bone pipe
!haib : to cut up a fruit

22. !haũ/b • the strap
*!haũ/b • the iron on the flint tinder box
23. /ha³m • to be far
/ha/m • to knock off the burnt part from something baked in the ashes
24. /hau-/mi • to prevaricate
/hau-³mi • to hold oneself in readiness
25. /hui- • to uncover, lay bare
*/hui- • to blow out air, him (of the horned viper)
26. //hui- • the rising up of the snake
/hui- • to do something for the first time
27. //hxa³o • to seize
*//hxa/o • to hold back a bowel movement
28. !hxã/ • to squint
!hxã/ • to milk sheep or goats into the mouth secretly

[348] 29. !hxari • to follow tracks
!hxa/ri-b • honey beer
30. ǂhxa³m • young
ǂhxa/m • to produce a dead calf
ǂhxa/m • to lay back the ears
31. ǂhxari ǂhxa/ri: • little • to shine out
32. ǂhxai • to awaken
ǂhxai/ • to blink
33. /hxo-³mas • the beseeching
/hxo-mab • hilly or mountain land, the Komas Highlands in the southern Herero territory
34. //hxõ/ • to bury
//hxõ/ • to be coarse
35. na/ru- • to make an arc, to go around
naru-s • the clod
36. !na/n • to tie around
*!na/n • to have the bladder too full
37. !nai/s • the seeking
!nai³s • the kidneys

38.	/no/bo	o	to grow hair
	/nobo·	o	to scrape
39.	!noa·	a	to become gray
	!no/o·	o	to run away (shy animals), to awaken
40.	!no·/as	o	slovenliness
	!no·ʔas	a	the heel
	!noʔo·s	o	stumbling
41.	ǂnoa·	a	to quarrel
	ǂno/o·	o	to throw
42.	o·a	a	to seek
	o·/a	o	to increase
	o·	o	to calf, to lamb, to have young
43.	o·re	ɛ	to vomit milk (of a suckling), as a noun (-s) also: the milk in the stomach of a young, wild calf, just killed.
	o·ʔre	o	of the predatory animal: running to fetch the buried booty
	(ore·	a	to make free)
[349] 44.	!o/m	o	to push
	!oʔm	a	to be without horns (of cattle)
	!o/m	o	to become hard, to pull out a thorn
45.	sao/s	o	thy mother
	sao	o	the pursuit
46.	ǂiʔ	i	to sneeze
	ǂi/	ɛ	to send
47.	uru·	u	to stalk game
	ʰu/ru·	ɛ	to jump on an unsaddled horse
48.	tsabi·	a	the habit of rolling the eyes around while watching
	tsa/bi·s	ɛ	the black ebony tree

b) Tone extension. By this I understand the difference between the initial tone level and the level of the same vowel or diphthong of a one syllable word, when it has been extended.

Three kinds of tone extension are to be distinguished.

a.) The even extension is characterized by the fact that the voice ends at the same level at which it began. This staying the same does not need to be marked by any sign. It is assumed as given if there is no sign.

The rising extension (sign: ˀ after the sound) is characterized by a rising.

The falling extension (sign: ˌ after the sound) by a dropping of the fading voice.

The ear of the white man has to slowly become accustomed to these differences. For the native they are as clear as the rising of the voice for a question is for us or its sinking at the end of a statement. Examples:

1. ǂ : to weep
   ǂǂ : to drink
   ǂˀ : yes! (modified easily by emotions when the tone is extended.)
2. /ǂ : to wring out
   /ǂǂ : to be sharp
3. /ǂ : to be wet
   /ǂǂ : to pilfer
4. ǂ/ms : the mouth
   ǂˀms : the roast
   ǂ/m : to the right
5. //gaˀn : to bake a cake in the pan
   //gaˌn : to pull in one's head
   (//gaǂn : verb - the leaving behind of the lamb at a definite place on the part of the mother.)
6. ˀ!gaǂm : to have goonbes
   ˀ!gaˌm : deep
   (!gaǂm : to bow)
   (!gaˀm : to kill)
7. /gˀ : to collect cattle of the same color
   ˀ/gˀǂ : not wanting to give away his last bit
   (gˀˌ : to have twins)
8. ǂgˀǂ : to be sharp
   ǂgˀˌ : to set up a scarecrow for animals
   (ǂgˀˌ : to turn aside)
9. //gˀǂ : the dish that is made from the breastbone of the ostrich
   //gˀˌ : compulsion
10. !gˀǂ : the long reed mat
    !gˀˌ : following a track

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	!ɑ̃ʔ	• wearing an apron behind
	!ɑ̃ʔ	• to let someone ride on your shoulders
11.	//ha/m	• chewing different foods at the same time
	//haʔm	• pouring in
12.	ɸhɑ/b	• the surface
	ɸhɑʔb	• pushing in front of one or shoving
13.	ɸhɑ/b	• the seed
	ɸhɑʔb	• a black stone (such as is found near Aar in the neighborhood of Kubub, for example.)
14.	//hɑ/b	• pouring out
	//hɑʔb	• the knapsack
15.	!hɑ/	• to fall on one's elbows (said of the small child that is creeping on hands and knees.)
	!hɑʔ	• to mock
16.	!ho-/mi	• the mountain
	!ho-ʔmi	• the seal (see page 41)
17.	!ho/m	• to be lame, also: to untie oxen from the yoke of the trek rope (to span them in front of another wagon.)
	!hoʔm	• to swallow something hot
(351) 18.	kmi/	• to blow something up
	kmiʔ	• to blow oneself up, to be inflated
19.	//mɑ/	• to leave
	//mɑʔ	• to fall
	(///mi	• there)
20.	ʔ!nɑ/b	• the white blaze across the middle of the forehead and nose
	!nɑ̃ʔb	• the lower body
	(!nɑ̃/b	• a large kind of land turtle
21.	ʔ/na/m	• flat and thin
	/naʔm	• to whistle
22.	!nɔ̃/b	• the stone under the cooking pot
	!nɔ̃b	• peace [quiet]

23. /ō • to make a noise
/ōā • to stop giving milk
24. ūʔb • the resting
ūāʔb • the buchu powder
25. ūʔm • to pull the bark off a tree
ūāʔm • to take out honey
(ūāʔm • to intimidate a bird with a threw so that it ducks to the ground)
26. !ūʔb • claw, hoof
!ūāʔb • forehead
(!ūāāʔb • plasm)
27. ūāʔb • grease for joints
ūāāʔb • licking
28. !ūiʔb • distance
!ūiāʔb • dust cloud
(!ūiāʔb • bush hut, bush shelter)

c) The word-tone. By this I mean the difference in the level of the voice between the first and last syllable of a word. We will not consider three syllable words at all, as no more than two syllables ever have this characteristic difference in level, the third syllable being about the same as one or the other accented syllables. Two kinds of word-tone are to be differentiated.

1. The rising word-tone is characterized by the fact that the voice is higher at the end syllable than at the first syllable.

[352] 2. Oppositely falling word-tone is characterized by the lower level of the voice at the final syllable.

In the rising and falling word-tone you must sometimes differentiate a long and a short interval which are independent of individual variations. The long one amounts to a short third to fourth, the short one only a half tone. Among the following examples are those which show that even this amount of word-tone can make a decisive difference in the meaning.

A special sign for the differences of the word-tone has not been introduced as I did not wish to pack the letters further with diacritical marks. This is readily justified where these differences of the word-tone go hand in hand with those in the position of the accent which has its own sign. But where, as in the following examples, it is a question of the same question of the same position of the accent and the same type of word-tone, the following abbreviations are added in parentheses to make clear a difference which is purely one of interval:

1/2, st. means . . . a word-tone rising about 1/2 tone.
3, st. means . . . a word-tone rising about one major third.
1/2, f. means . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about 1/2 tone.
3, f. means . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about one major third.

Examples:

1.	/gu/ri·b	(3, st.)	: name of a riverbank grass.
	/gu/ri·s	(1/2, st.)	: a boil.
2.	/gu/a·b	(3, st.)	: name of a succulent edible plant.
	°/gu/a·b	(1/2, st.)	: the call of the sitting /hunce owl.
3.	!gu/ro·	(3, st.)	: to stay behind.
	!gu/ro·	(1/2, st.)	: to roar.
4.	!gu/ru·b	(3, st.)	: poison.
	!gu/ru·b	(1/2, st.)	: thunder.
5.	/ha/ma·	(3, st.)	: to be slow.
	/ha/ma·	(1/2, st.)	: to smell of urine.
6.	!ha/ra·	(3, st.)	: to look on.
	!ha/ra·	(1/2, st.)	: to snort, to spit hard.
7.	/ha/ra·b	(3, st.)	: the wart.
	/ha/ra·b	(1/2, st.)	: the contents of the first stomach of ruminants.
8.	/haru·s	(3, st.)	: name of Cyperus species.
[203]	°/haru·s	(1/2, st.)	: Mesembrianthemum species.
9.	/ha/u·b	(3, st.)	: goat beard.
	/ha/u·b	(1/2, st.)	: visible breath.
10.	/ho/bo·	(3, st.)	: to paint the face.
	°/ho/bo·	(1/2, st.)	: to arrange a new-born one.
11.	na/ri·	(3, st.)	: to be thickened.
	na/ri·	(1/2, st.)	: this morning.
12.	!na/ba·b	(3, st.)	: the mead.
	!na/ba·b	(1/2, st.)	: rhinoceros.
13.	!no/ra·b	(3, st.)	: tobacco roll.
	!no/ra·s	(1/2, st.)	: the black ball of manure of the little ruminants.

d) The accent (sign: · after the sound) should be placed with the sound modifications as a part of the rhythmic pattern. An amalgamation of the accent sign with the signs of the "tonal level" elements (as Kroenlein tried) is not feasible. I consider a sign exclusively used to indicate the accent indispensible for a thorough analysis of the sounds of the Nama language.

In the pronunciation of individual words, in many cases you can only differentiate between syllables that are more or less accented, not between accented and unaccented syllables. Especially when the falling word-tone amounts to one third, the accent usually lies so evenly on the first and last syllable that a differentiation in the accent is not possible. In such cases the sign can be left out.

In general in two syllable words with a rising word-tone the accent lies on the second syllable and with the falling word-tone on the first syllable. How

e) combinations of the four above-mentioned musical elements determine the phonetic character and thereby usually the meaning of the words, the following examples shall show:

ε) combination of differences in initial tone level and tone extension. The combination of high initial tone level and falling tone extension is designated by ↓, the combination of low initial tone level and rising tone extension is designated with ↑.

1. ≠ā↓ = to burst open
   ≠ā↓ = to slaughter
2. /a↓n = to groan
   /a↓n = to smoke (of the fire)
3. //a↑↑m = to clean oneself with cow dung
[354] //a↓m = placing stones in the hole game (see page 314); clapping hands
   //a↓m = to eliminate
   °//a↓m = to cover in order to hide
4. //a↓n = to dwell
   //a↓n = to ripen
   //a↑n = to hold firmly together
5. ≠a↓n = to know
   ≠a↑n = to give a blow
6. dā↑ = to jubilate, make merry
   dā↓ = to be someone's enemy
7. gā↓ = to be lost
   gā↑ = to be clever, to outwit someone
8. !gā↓ = to burst
   !gāb = the resurrection, the reappearance of the crescent moon

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	!gā↓b	=	poison
	!gā↓b	=	the servant
	*!gā↓b	=	name of an Euphorbia that is probably identical with the one on page 260
9.	!ga·↓ni	=	chin
	!ga·ni	=	way [road]
	(!ga↑ni·	=	to press)
10.	≠gā↓	=	to go in
	*≠gā↓	=	to be steep
11.	χo↑m	=	to wipe the dust off
	*χo↓m	=	to draw a noose tight
12.	≠ga↓m	=	to mend something broken
	≠ga↓↑m	=	to jump about
13.	≠ga↓n	=	to cover
	≠ga↑n	=	to ask
14.	/gaĩ↓	=	to be greedy
	/gaĩ↑	=	to spread out skins for a bed
15.	//gē↓	=	to strangle
	//gē↓↑	=	to eliminate, secrete
16.	gō↓	=	to refuse
	gō↓	=	to see
17.	!go↓m	=	to be pregnant
[355]	!go↓↑m	=	the humming of the ostrich
18.	≠go↓↑m	=	to dip in
	≠go↑m	=	to believe
19.	/gū↓	=	near
	/gū↓↑	=	dirty
20.	!ga↓m	=	to bend
	!ga↑m	=	to kill
	*!ga↓↑m	=	deep
21.	!gau↓	=	to be left over
	!gau↓	=	to throw towards
22.	!hā↓b	=	to winnow out
	!hā↓↑b	=	lynx (see page 281)
	!hā↓↑b	=	canine tooth of the horse

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23. ≠haũ/ = to smear oneself with something sweet
*≠haũ/ = to crush the tsama fruit (see p. 200)

24. /hũ/b = the scorpion
/hũ/b = anxiety, choking

25. /hũ/b = the white man
/hũ/b = the smell of the billy goat

26. //hũ/ = to bore through
//hũ/ = to bark

27. !hũ/ = to flee
!hũ/b = the country

28. !hũ/ = to tie, combine
!hũ/ = to pound cooked meat, to push up and away with the fist
*!hũ/ = to suck marrow from bones (cf. p. 31)

29. /kχa/m = to urinate
/kχa/m = to trickle through
*/kχa/ms = the edible soft parts of sea snails (see p. 31)

30. kχo/m = to pound fine
kχo/m = to speak

31. //kχo/m = to scratch out the remnants baked firmly to the pot
//kχo/m = to bind up a body

32. /kχũ/ = to tremble
/kχũ/ = to pull out

33. ≠nã/ = to pour
[356] ≠nã/ = to be dry

34. ≠na/n = to strike fire
≠na/n = to turn around

35. !no/m = humpbacked
!no/m = to smoke out bees (see p. 205)

36. ≠nau/ = to strike
≠nau/ = to help

142 37. /oǂm = to breathe
197 /oǂm = to wipe off
38. sãǂ = to warm oneself
sãǂ = to pick one's nose
39. sǂ = to come there
sǂǂ = ? [pforzen]

β) Differences in the initial tone level and the word-tone:

1. /abi· (1/2, st.) = to rain (cf. p. 237 note)
/aǂbi· (3, st.) = to scratch the skin for purposes of healing
2. χoŕe· (1/2, st.) = to release
χoǂre· (3, st.) = to joke
3. /gaǂi·b (3, st.) = name of a lizard, the Mabuia acutilabris Ptrs.
/gaʔi·b (1/2, st.) = dancing
4. guǂni· (3, st.) = to stalk game
guʔni· (1/2, st.) = to scratch one's closed eye or ear
5. //guru·s (1/2, st.) = quartz stone
ʔ//guǂru·b (3, st.) = mountain ridge
6. !haǂmi· (3, st.) = to hunt
!haʔmi· (1/2, st.) = to be insulted
7. !huri·b (3, st.) = fear
!huʔri·b (1/2, st.) = the backbone
8. //naru· (1/2, st.) = to roast, to chew on a bone (said of cattle)
//naǂru· (3, st.) = to impale in rows
9. !naʔru·s (1/2, st.) = the black ebony tree (synonym, see p. 144)
ʔ!naǂru·s (3, st.) = name of a ray (fish)
10. u·ʔi (1/2, f.) = to gnaw bones
u·rib (3, f.) = louse

[357] γ) Differences in word-tone and accent.
[104] (Where not specially indicated, the word-tone is 1/2 a tone):

1. a·bu = to fold up
abu·s = the empty ostrich egg

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2. /a·ob = blood
/ao·b = snake

3. //a·ru = to return home
//aru· = dotted black and white

4. ǂaba· = to burst
ǂa·ba = to cut open

5. ǂabi· = to sweep dirt
ǂa·bi = to be bored

6. ǂa·bo = to plaster
ǂabo· = to seize someone by surprise

7. go·a = to be half dry
goa· = to praise

8. !goa· = to crack a whip
*!go·a = to lie deep

9. gu·ri = to gnaw bones
guri·b = the year

10. *//gaba· = to see sharply and far off
*//ga·ba = to step on something by mistake

11. //ha·ob = the wind break of the fire place
//hao·b = the rising of a thunderstorm

12. !hari· = to undo stitches
!ha·ri = to live in the neighborhood

13. /kχa·reb = the short-step gait of a horse (the Boers' way of riding)
/kχare·b = the calf of the oryx antelope (the accent on p. 275 misprinted)

14. /kχa·rus = name of a kind of hare (see p. 285)
*/kχaru·s = name of a kind of Euphorbia, E. cervicornis Boiss (see Plate VI)

15. /kχa·bu = to spit water out of one's mouth
/kχabu·s = sandal

16. //kχa·eb = driving back
//kχaɛ̃·b = sand of the river bed

[358] 17. //kχara· = to punish
//kχa ra = to be big
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18. !kχa·erab (3, f.) = name of a kind of hare (see p. 285)
!kχaĕra· (e, st.) = careless
19. !kχa·ru = to snore
!kχaru· = to shoot through
20. //kχoro·b (3, st.) = the shovel for ashes
*//kχo·rob (1/2, f.) * the honey sack made of iguana skin (see p. 205)
21. /kχuru·b = aridity, acidity
/kχu·rub = grass seed
22. *≠kχuru·b = the hot earth around the fire place
≠kχu·rub = vein
23. !na/mi· (3, st.) = to carry a child on one's arm
!na·/mi (1/2, f.) = the side; as a verb: to run pigeon-toed
24. ≠na/o·b (3, st.) = honeycomb
*≠na·/ob (1/2, f.) = a road that is smooth or slightly hilly that runs along a mountain slope
25. !oro· = to stand on tiptoe
!o·ro = to bellow
26. saru· = to catch a sheep or goat by the leg
sa·ru (3, f.) = to pursue
27. so·res = the sun
sore.s = the female sore partner (see p. 318/319)
28. tara·s = the woman
*tā·ras (3, f.) = the brother's duty (especially emphasized by the Hottentots) to love his sister and her children (see p. 303)
29. to·rob = war
toro·b = a fine-grained, red, hard, kind of soil

δ) Differences in the word-tone, accent and initial tone level (only the third is indicated in the word-tone, otherwise it is assumed to be a 1/2 tone):

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1. /a·rab (3, f.) = the annoyance
   /ara·b = rib
   /a·ˀrab = the crack
2. //a·ri = yesterday, tomorrow
[359] //aˀri· = to pulverize (in the language of the Namib nomads: !oˀˀn)
3. !a·ba = to climb up
   !aˀba· (3, st.) = to scratch
4. χoa· = to scrape
   χoˀa = to write
5. χuru·b = powdered coals
   χuˀru· (3, st.) = to pull out
6. χu·bu = to pulverize tobacco
   χuˀbu· (3, st.) = to drink from [sip]
7. gara· = to be cool
   gaˀra = to have German measles
8. gaˀro· (3, st.) = bend, bow
   ga·ro = to dry out, become thin, to be hard
9. /ga·bi = to sprinkle
   /gaˀbi·s (3, st.) = the cup
   (/gabi· = to be high)
10. //gaˀe = to imitate
    //gaë· = to chew
11. //ga·mi = water
    //gaˀmi· (3, st.) = to bend the head
12. //ga·nas = the giraffe acacia, (Cape D. kameelboom)
    //gaˀna·s = name of a plant that is like a fig tree that grows frequently in the cliffs near Kubub. The inner soft skin of the root is eaten raw.

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	//ga·ˈna		=	to water the cattle singly or in herds
13.	//gara·s		=	the Aloe dichotoma L. (see p. 112)
	//gaˌra·s	(3, st.)	=	shoulder blade
	//ga·ra		=	to scratch lines
14.	!ga· os		=	cutting
	!gaˌo·s	(3, st.)	=	the tree trunk
15.	!gaˌra·b		=	thinness
	!ga·rab		=	the male genitals
16.	!ga·ro		=	to be barren
	•!gaˌro·		=	the hurrying of the thirsty cattle to water or of the mother animal to its young
17.	/ga·mi		=	to have two wives (cf. p. 307)
[360]	/gaˈmi·		=	to close one eye
18.	/go·e		=	to curse
	/goˌe·		=	to splint a broken arm
19.	/goˌre·b		=	the request
	/go·reb		=	a cut in the skin for bleeding
20.	guˈnu		=	to make a place for oneself by shoving
	guˌnu	(3, st.)	=	to spoil, rot
21.	/gu·i		=	one
	/guˌi·	(3, st.)	=	to become tired of somebody
22.	//ga·ma	(3, f.)	=	to fetch water
	•//gaˌma·		=	to lie close to the fire
23.	goˌra·b	(3, st.)	=	name of a kind of crow, the Corvus scapulatus Daud.
	•go·ra		=	to peel skins from field onions
24.	!guˌi·	(3, st.)	=	to creep around something
	!gu·i		=	pulsating of a wound
25.	!gu·ri		=	to rub someone with fat
	!guˈri·		=	to be arrogant
26.	!guˌbu·	(3, st.)	=	to knock
	!gu·bu		=	to be round

● 192 27. ǂgu·i = to be much
194 ǂgu/i·s (3, st.) = the nose
28. ha/ra· = to be far
ha ra = to swallow
29. /ha/mi· (3, st.) = to dress warmly
/ha·mi = to make oneself ready
30. //ha·ru = to weep from joyous emotion
//ha/ru· (3, st.) = to creep into
31. !ha·e = to be quick
!ha/e· = to hunt on horseback (see p. 290)
32. !ho·a = to tell a story
!ho/a· = to be crooked
33. !ho/ba·b = turning around
!ho·bab = intestinal worm
34. /hu/ru· (3, st.) = cooking thin meat until dry
/hu·ru = to play
35. !hu/i·b (3, st,) = the bustard (see p. 272)
!hu·ib = the fresh smell of the damp wood of the giraffe acacia
36. !hu·nu = to become wet
[361] !hu/nu· = to suck marrow out of bones (cf. p. 355, no. 28.)
37. ǂkχa·rab (3, f.) = the whale (see p. 37)
ǂkχa/ra·b = testicles
38. !kχo·ab = cartridge belt
*!kχo/a·b = ice
39. ǂkχo·a = to soothe
ǂkχo/a·b = the elephant
40. ǂkχu·bi = to make noise
ǂkχu/bi· = to babble (of small children)
41. na·ʔmi = the tongue
na ʔmi· = to flicker
na/mi· = to bend around a corner
na/mi·b = the surface, the Namib desert
42. na·ba = to flash [lightning]
na/ba· (3, st.) = to disappear behind something, to go down

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43. /na‿e· = to put straight
/na·eb = the navel

44. //na·e = to indicate
//na‿e· = to sing

45. //nã‿i· (3, st.) = to girdle oneself with straps (Herero)
//nã·‿i = to be stiff
//nã i = all right

46. !na‿e· = to trot
!naē· = to become warm
!nã ʔe = to be born

47. !na·rab = the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw. (see pp. 146, 197.)
*!na‿ra·b (3, st.) = designation of the Namib bushmen for "white man"

48. /no·ro = to tan a skin
/no‿ro· (3, st.) = to be pale

49. /o‿ro· = to be few
/o·ro = used up, to be old

50. //o·ʔa = not to be able to
//o‿a· (3, st.) = squishing of water in wet shoes
(//o·a = to kiss)

51. !o·a = to meet
!o‿a = to be sad

[362] 52. sa·mi (3, f.) = breasts, udder
saʔmi· = to use the whip
sa·‿mi = to get in the "wrong throat" when swallowing

53. sao· = to mark cattle
sa·o = to follow

54. so·as = barrel
so‿a·s = fissure, scratch

55. to·a = to cease
to‿a· (3, st.) = to tear apart

56. /u‿i·b = brother-in-law
/u·ib = stone

57. !uʔi· = to cut fat from meat

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194 58. !u·ǂbu·b = egg
*!u·bu (3, f.) = to turn someone away
59. !ũ·i = to guard
*!ũǂi· (3, st.) = to be seamless or jointless
60. tsaǂo· (3, st.) = the raging pawing of the bull or the wildebeest
tsa·ob = ash
61. tsaǂma·b = the tsama gourd (see p. 200)
tsa·mab = the food supply of the ants, "ant food"
62. tso·as = looking for lice
tsoǂa·s (3, st.) = anus

)Difference in word-tone, accent, initial tone level and tone extension.
//ga·ǂni (1/2, f.) = meat
//gani· (1/2, st.) = checked brown and white

194 f) Suspension of sound characteristics is to be observed at times, when the individual word becomes a part of a compound. However, I have not made any systematic notations in this direction, but only noted a few observations.

The accent in a compound is usually shifted from its original position in the individual word. The general designation for cat is /hõǂa·b. In the compounded designation for "field-cat," !ga·ro/hõ·ǂab, the accent is clearly shifted to the penultimate syllable. The same is true for !ore b, the basin, and */nu·bi!o·reb, the winnowing basin (p. 201). [363] Usually a change in the word-tone (see the accent, p. 353) is combined with this.

Also the characteristic tone extension of the individual word can disappear in a compound: //hõǂs, the sack, /na·ma//hõǂs, the economy sack (p. 238). Noticeable in a compound is the appearance of a rising tone extension that is lacking in the individual words: /naǂm, to love, but /naǂm/naǂm, to bring to love.

How much the sound characteristics of the individual word change under the musical influence of the sentence structure and under the influence of the emotions, I have not investigated. The initial tone level seems to be to be by far the stablest sound characteristic of a word.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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in describing them as they existed in his time among the Cape Hottentots. Until, he says, the boy is initiated, generally in about his eighteenth year, he must remain under the direct control of his mother and associate with the women at meals; he may not eat even with his father, let alone set himself up as a man. When at last his father, or the men as a whole, resolve to receive him into their company, all the inhabitants of the kraal assemble in the open space in the middle, where the men sit down in a circle. The initiate, smeared all over with fat and soot, squats down beyond them. The oldest man present then asks the others if they are willing to admit the boy into their ranks; on receiving their acquiescence, he steps up to the boy and informs him that henceforth he is freed from submission to his mother and that he must no longer associate with the women. Then the old man urinates freely over the boy, at the same time wishing him good fortune, fertility, a ripe old age, and similar blessings. This done, all the men feast on a sheep provided by the friends of the boy, and the latter now joins them. He is thus confirmed in the privilege of associating, eating, and drinking with the men, and leaves behind him the reproach of being a milksop. The word *kutsire*, by which according to Kolb uninitiated boys are derided as being attached to women's company, is equally offensive when hurled at a mature man. He may not rest under it, but his case is examined by the men, and if the accusation is upheld he is excluded from their company until he has purified himself by slaughtering a sheep. This the men eat, while he himself receives only the fat and the entrails, which he must cook with the animal's blood and consume.[1]

The urination figuring so conspicuously in Kolb's description of this and other ceremonies has been seized upon by many later writers as an instance of romantic falsification. But although there is much in his description of the Cape Hottentots not altogether above suspicion, he is confirmed on this particular point by other reliable authorities. Thus Thunberg, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says: "The custom is not quite laid aside of making youth, at a certain age, men; from which time they are separated from the women, and associate only with men. After the youth has been besprinkled, according to custom, with urine, some animal is killed, and its omentum, or cawl, is tied about his neck."[2] And Wikar, in describing the boys' puberty ceremonies among the

[1] Op. cit., 59–60. [2] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nowadays each ox and cow
231 552 [192] is generally given a name of Dutch origin, to which it often answers; formerly cattle were designated rather according to their colour or physical development. Schultze records nineteen such terms in use among the Naman for horned cattle, six for goats, and three for sheep.[1]

231 425 438 Cattle may be acquired in several different ways. Every child in a wealthy family may have some animals set aside for it soon after birth, and a portion is usually given at marriage, both to sons and to daughters, while a man's herds are also divided after his death among his heirs. Cattle may further be acquired by means of barter with such objects as milk pots and weapons, and in recent times also European trade goods. Wandres mentions the case of a wealthy cattle-owner known to him among the Bondelswarts, who laid the foundations of his prosperity by the manufacture of wooden milk pails which he bartered for cattle. We know also that cattle-raiding, both among the Hottentots themselves and on other peoples, such as the OvaHerero, was a common practice in the past, but we have no definite record as to how cattle obtained in this way were divided.

231 425 463 Service with Europeans in order to obtain the means of purchasing cattle was common already in Kolb's time, and is possibly the principal method employed nowadays. Another common method, in use among the Hottentots themselves, is the herding of another man's cattle in return for part of the increase. A wealthy cattle-owner will place some of his stock under the care of an impoverished tribesman, allowing him to use the milk for his own nourishment and to claim half the increase. With good management a herdsman can in a few years acquire quite a respectable herd of his own in this way. Even young boys will hire their services to cattle-owners, receiving at first an annual payment of one or more sheep or goats, according to the size of the herds under their care, and acquiring later the right to half of the increase. A good herdsman generally remains with his master for life, even although he has accumulated some stock of his own. This is looked after by his children or his relatives, while he himself becomes the chief herdsman of his master.[2]

234 462 The milk of their cows is the staple article of diet with the Hottentots. The milking is done by the women and girls, and only

[1] Op. cit., 264–7.
[2] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 677–8; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 78–9; Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 42.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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765 783 [304] If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the widower is much the same, save for a few additional details. After he has been cleansed, two cuts are made on his forehead, and the juice of a certain astringent plant, *//ubus*, is rubbed in. The hair is also cut from the back of his head. In the old days the cutting in both cases was done with a sharp piece of quartz. Before he has been finally cleansed in this way the widower must not leave the hut. After the hut has also been cleaned by the removal of the fire, etc., some tamarisk and acacia branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water, just as in the re-marriage ceremonies. With this act the immediate mourning rites come to an end. There is no mention of any subsequent rites, or of any further mourning ceremonies.

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

775 The Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead have not been investigated in sufficient detail; and concrete information on the subject is contained only in a few fragmentary, but nevertheless important, observations. These leave untouched many problems which arise, and the following description cannot, therefore, be regarded as fully adequate. But it seems safe to say, in the light of the available information, that the Hottentots have no definite conception of an after-world or special land of the dead, nor is there any established theory of reincarnation. Olpp in a short sentence expresses concisely what appears to be the general Hottentot doctrine: "They believe that the soul of a dead person goes with him into the grave, from which it has the faculty of emerging at will as a ghost, in either luminous or terrifying form."[1]

775 192 This statement can be amplified somewhat. The ghosts of the dead are known to the Naman by several names—most commonly as */hei /nun*, "fawn feet"; sometimes as */hei khoin*, "fawn-coloured people," or *sobo khoin*, "people of the shadow"; and also as *//gaunagu*.[2] This last term is of special importance. It is the masculine plural form of *//Gaunab*, and *//Gaunab* is one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth, just as he is in the religion of the Northern Bushmen. The term *//gaunab* itself may be used in the singular for "ghost", as appears from a saying noted by

[1] *Angra Pequena*, 29.
[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 85, 143; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 517, 519.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Hahn: *//naũa //gauna ta ni*, I will hear it, if I am a *//gauna*." "This means," says Hahn, "if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand."[1] There is no doubt, moreover, that the mythical being *//Gaunab* also is intimately linked up with the ghosts of the dead. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, in fact, insisted very earnestly that the */hei /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*. "The names are two," he said, "but the thing is one."[2] This close connection between *//Gaunab* and the ghosts of the dead is a point to which we shall have to recur.

The question now arises whether all dead people become ghosts of the same sort, or whether some distinction is made in their fate according to their circumstances in life—sex, age, social status, manner of death, etc. On this point there is very little concrete information. Schultze states that people who die tranquilly also live mildly in the dreams of the survivors, whereas a man dying in great agony or raving madly appears to the living at night as a terrible phantom.[3] This implies a distinction similar to that found among some of the North-Western Bushmen between "good deaths" and "bad deaths", and suggests that only the ghosts of the latter are to be dreaded. There is, however, no other mention of this particular distinction, and, as we shall see, it appears that all ghosts are dreaded as a rule. Hahn, again, states that some people are said to die from the influence of *//Gaunab*, and these are called *//Gauna //õra khoin*, "people who died the *//Gauna* death." "Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by vultures and hyenas, they are also considered *//gauna //õra*."[4] He does not say, however, if the ghosts of such people are regarded as in any way different from those of people who die ordinary deaths and are buried, nor is there anything to indicate that they are more dreaded.

The ghosts are thought to hover over the graves or to come from them; in general, that is, they linger round the locality where the death has taken place. This point was made long ago by Kolb in discussing the Cape Hottentot beliefs concerning the dead. The people fear, he says, that the dead may return and molest them. For this reason, when anybody has died, they all remove from the locality, believing that the dead person only haunts the place where he has died. Only if anything is taken from the hut of the dead person will his ghost follow them and trouble them.[5] The Naman, as we have

[1] Op. cit., 85. [2] Op. cit., 321. [3] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 317.
[4] Op. cit., 85–6. [5] Op. cit., 62–3; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 338.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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B H 193 buck". In connected narrative the subject is usually mentioned only once, and then not repeated; a second subject is repeated, but sentences or clauses without a subject refer back to the first subject, often long after it is last mentioned.

In the Southern languages, the sentences are generally fairly long and linked together by means of various conjunctions, while every verb has its subject expressed by means of a substantive or a pronoun. In *Nama* and to a lesser extent in *Hie* the same principle applies. In the Northern Bushman languages, and perhaps also in *Naron*, as far as one can judge, the sentences are usually short and strung together without conjunctions.

Note on Vocabulary

B H 192 The vocabularies of the Khoisan languages are necessarily very restricted along certain lines. Terms for abstract ideas are rare, and terms are of course lacking to indicate the many things not connected with the mode of life of the people. But in terms dealing with veld lore, wild animals, and birds, trees, herbs, and roots, the chase and all the wealth of description which that entails, the languages are remarkably rich.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the different languages shows that they have many words in common, and that even *Nama* shares a very large number of roots with one or other of the Bushman languages. Its greatest resemblances are with *Naron* and *Hie*, but many of its words occur in other Bushman languages also, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, even in the language spoken by the Lake Chrissie Bushmen of the Eastern Transvaal. There are, of course, many words in *Nama* which cannot be found in any of the other languages, but in the same way there are words in */Khũ* or */Xam* which are peculiar to these languages. Frequently synonyms are found in *Nama* of which one word is also present in the Bushman languages, while another is not. If the languages are arranged according to similarity of roots, the Central Group shows most affinity with *Nama*, the Northern Group has less resemblance and the Southern Group still less. There is, however, no sharp line of distinction. The languages of the Kakia *Masarwa* and of the *//nu//en*, both of which belong to the Southern Group, have more in common with the Northern Group than has */Xam*, and *Hie* is a veritable link between the Northern Group and *Naron*, which again is a step nearer *Nama*.

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6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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Quite apart from the customs and ceremonies of the Naman, we can judge of the importance they attach to water from the fact that they distinguish all the various ways in which water may be conserved, and name every spot in their territory where these different kinds of water may be found, so that the greater proportion of places to which the natives have given names are precisely those at which there is water.

Besides the !Âb, the river, where water can most often be found, at any rate in secluded hollows where a granite bottom has prevented the water from sinking below, and deep gorges have protected it from too much evaporation, we have the /óus, the spring, which may be either hot or cold, and is often very brack or even salt. "The frequency of this designation in both its masculine and feminine form as the only name of a place," writes Dr. K. Dove, "proves the extraordinary importance that is attached to perennial water, in the dry steppes of Namaland."* Two hot springs called /Âi //Gáms, "fire water," have been important centres of settlement, Windhoek in the north, Warmbad in the south. But, in addition to rivers and springs, we have the Xorás, or Xorábes, the water-hole dug in the moist sand in protected spots in the river beds, and there is the ǂgāb or ǂgās, the deeper well. Further, we have the //garúb, the natural reservoirs or basins in hollowed-out rock, mostly granite. These are veritable blessings very often when one is travelling over large waterless tracts, and every native knows each one in the territory of his tribe. But, of course, their supply is strictly limited, and they are apt to be quite dry before the next rainy season unless they are very large. There are also the //gòm //gami, the pond, the /ăp, or vlei, and the !khowís, the depressions which are filled with water for a short time after rains, and which, with the //garúb, enable grass not otherwise accessible to be used for a short time.

Another indication of the vast importance attached to water by the Naman is to be found in the annual rain-ceremony. This is, or rather was in the old days, by far the most important social ceremony of the whole year.—I heard of this ceremony among all the tribes I visited and had full descriptions of it, but it was not until this last visit to South-West Africa that I was fortunate enough to meet with an old man, who claims to be the hereditary chief of the géi //Khauan, the chief tribe of the Naman, and who still holds the old rain ceremony every year at his home in !Hoaxa!nas. Thanks to the kindly assistance of the Administration of South-West Africa, who supplied the necessary slaughter animals, we were able to perform this ceremony with pretty nearly all its attendant rites in Windhoek this last year, and it was rather pathetic to see the joy, not unmixed with doubt, among the natives, when later on the phenomenal rains fell all over the

* "Geographische Bezeichnungen in der Namasprache," in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* an der König Friedrich Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin. Jahrgang III (1900), pp. 57—65.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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are so big that ten or twenty men, with women and children, can live in them comfortably. But on the average they are much smaller, and some are so small that they can simply be picked up and carried away. The fire-hearth is in the middle of the hut, but as they make no chimneys to draw up the smoke their dwellings are always full of it. They make fire with remarkable dexterity, by placing under the foot a bit of wood in which there is a small hollow, and then firmly and continuously twisting another piece of wood into this hollow until the sparks come out.

LANGUAGE.

All these Hottentots, especially those along the shore, speak one and the same language. This is at once a hindrance, for owing to the difficulty of pronunciation it cannot be learned by our countrymen, to the great detriment of further exploration of the country and of dealing with these people. Their speech is full of clucks like those of the turkey-cocks; they clap or clack each word in the mouth, as if a man were snapping his thumb, so that their mouth goes almost like a rattle, continuously clapping aloud with the tongue, each word with a different clap. Some words they can only utter with considerable difficulty, seeming to fetch them up from the back of the throat, like a turkey-cock, or like the people on the German Alps do, who through drinking ice-water get swellings at the neck. Because of this our countrymen, observing this impediment and extraordinary stuttering in speech, have given them the name of Hottentots, in the same sense as that word is commonly used here at home as a taunt against anybody who stutters and stammers in uttering his words.[81]) They now also call themselves by the name Hottentot, and in the presence of our countrymen dance and sing: *Hottentot brokwa, Hottentot brokwa*, by which they mean to say,

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[81]) Dapper's theory about the origin of the name "Hottentot" has been adopted by most later writers. It is discussed in detail by Prof. du Plessis (*S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv, 189-93; xxix, 660-67), who comes to the conclusion, after a careful review of the relevant literature, that this name was *not* bestowed upon the Cape natives by early travellers, as suggested by Dapper, but rather was derived from their use of some such word as *hautitou* (whence *Hottentoo*) in their dancing songs, and so found its way into Dutch and other European languages. The problem is still a matter of controversy, but the authorities quoted by du Plessis seem to bear out his contention. It may be added that the Hottentots, although they now acknowledge this name as well, originally called themselves *kxoikxoin* ("*Khoi-Khoin*"), or "real people", a name which they still retain for themselves in their own language.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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"give Hottentot a crust of bread". In their language, also, *kahou* means "sit down"; *bou*, an ox; *bo*, a sheep; and *kori*, iron. All or most of the Hottentots living close to the Fort, like the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas, now also speak Dutch, owing to their daily intercourse with our countrymen, just as some who have been with the English in Bantam can stammer out some broken English.

TRADE.

They have no great inclination towards trade, nor do they have any traffic with other foreign peoples. Linen, wool, mirrors and bells were formerly not valued by them, but iron was, while those at Table Bay preferred copper, their principal ornament. Our countrymen who journeyed to India in 1595 under the leadership of Jan Jansz. Molenaer bartered from these people a fine ox for a bad bill-hook; two oxen and three sheep for an iron staff weighing 70 lbs., broken into five pieces; three oxen and five sheep for a crooked knife, an axe, a shovel, a short iron bolt, and some pieces of iron; and one sheep for a knife[a]). But today, grown wiser through intercourse with us, and led to this also by the abundance of such articles, they value their livestock far more highly; so that the old simplicity is no longer found amongst them. The favourite and most desired articles for which they are now willing to exchange their cattle are tobacco, brandy, beadwork and copper. The latter they particularly want, and the more yellow it is the more desirable. One can still obtain two cows for four pieces of copper, each as big as the palm of the hand; but nowadays there must also be added a little gift, generally a piece of tobacco.

The principal wealth of the Kafirs or Hottentots lies in their cattle, and in the beadwork which they barter from our people with cattle. The Kochoquas or Saldanhars are said to have more than a thousand head of cattle and as many sheep again[a]), all with coloured hair instead of wool.

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[a]) See *De eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indie onder Cornelis de Houtman* 1595-1597. *I. D'eerste Boeck van Willem Lodewyckxz*, p. 8. (Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging, VII. 's Gravenhage, 1915.) Dapper's list of articles is copied verbatim from this source.

[a]) *Sic.* Elsewhere Dapper gives the figures as 100,000 cattle and 200,000 sheep (see above, p. 22).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

forte lucrosus. Omnes quos mihi saltem videre contigit, gracili ac elaborato corpore, congruenter concisis artuum lacertis, simo (qualis *Africanorum* ac *Asiaticorum* plerisque conatus est) naso, depressa fronte, chilones, crispo, languinoso, & in varias deraso formes capillo, nudi incedunt, tectis tantum levi corio praecordiis. Feminas a maribus deformitate distinguas; Illae hoc sibi a caeteris gentibus peculiare habent, quod pleraeque earum dactyliformes, semper geminas, e pudendis propendentes appendiculas, productas scilicet *Nymphas* (ut raro in nostratibus exemplo prolongata conspicitur *clitoris*) gestent, quas tuguriola (illi suo idiomate *krallen* vocant, mulieribus fortuito referta) intrantibus magna cum gesticulatione, coriaceum elevando supparum, videndas praebent. Sic strangulatam nuper prosecavit amicus *chirurgus viraginem Hottentotticam*, in qua digitalia haec *Nympharum* tubercula, e verendis procidua, duas in una mammilla papillas, variosque in γ) pancreate calculos observârat. Imo vero, adjiciebat probatissimae fidei *Gubernator*: *Et ego calculum ex medietate virilis testiculi exsectum, propter adamantinam pelluciditatem annulo insertum possedi; ast eum superstitioso & ingentem de eo amuleti vim ventilanti, Nigritarum Regi donavi.* Id vero cum *Nigritica*, *Aethiopica* &c. gente commune habent; quod ubi hi oleo, illi pecorum adipe corpora, sed praesertim verticem, illinant, cineribus ex concrematis herbis (quos *Bouchôu* vernacule appellant) in eundem conspersis: quod officium uxores maritis praestant. Aurium lobos transversim lateque secant, aperturam bacillo, vel *tabacifuma* fistula, vel quod illis solennius, *corallinis* inauribus pandunt.

γ) Sic tandem omnem dubitationis aleam evaderet dictamen hoc; posse etiam in omnibus corporis partibus calculos produci. (This statement need not labour under any suspicion of doubt: stones may be produced in any part of the body.)

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16) On this well-known characteristic of Hottentot women, see above, p. 62. ✗

17) The word *kraal* is not of Hottentot origin, but was taken over by the Dutch from the Portuguese *curral* and applied to the *settlements* of the Hottentots, not to their *huts*.

[i.e., see 8: Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 62. – Boxhorn]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

All the Hottentots whom I at least have seen have slender and finely-knit bodies, matching the small musculature of their limbs; their noses, as with most African and Asiatic peoples, are snub, their foreheads low; they are thick-lipped, and have curly woolly hair, shaved into various patterns; they go naked except for a light covering of skins on the chest and belly. 142 [291]

The women may be distinguished from the men by their ugliness. And they have this peculiarity to distinguish them from other races, that most of them have dactyliform appendages, always two in number, hanging down from their pudenda. These are enlargements of the *Nymphae*[16]), just as occasionally in our own countrywomen an elongation of the clitoris is observed. If one should happen to enter a hut full of women — the huts they call *kraals* in their idiom [17]) — then, with much gesticulation, and raising their leathern aprons, they offer these appendages to the view. A surgeon of my acquaintance lately dissected a Hottentot woman who had been strangled [18]). He observed these finger-shaped prolongations of the *Nymphae* falling down from the private parts, two nipples in one breast, and various stones in the pancreas. What is more, the Governor, whose word can be absolutely relied upon, added the following: "I too owned a remarkable stone. It was cut from the middle of a man's testicle, and, on account of its diamond-like brilliance I had it set in a ring. But I made a present of it to the King of the Negroes, a superstitious fellow, who displayed a profound belief in its power as an amulet." 147 [192] [576] [142 164]

The Hottentots have this in common with the Negro, Aethiopian, and other races, that, as the latter smear themselves with oil, they smear their bodies with animal fat, and especially their heads, sprinkling also on their heads the ash of burned herbs, which they call in the vernacular *bouchou*.[19]) Wives perform this service for their husbands. 302

They cut the lobes of their ears across in a wide slit, and stretch the aperture by inserting a stick, or a tobacco-pipe, or, what is more usual with them, coral ear-rings. 301 304

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[18]) On this woman, see below, p. 126, n. 26.

[19]) Buchu was always ground, ie, powder, never burned.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[33]) They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[34]) In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.[35]) From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[36]) By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[37])

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way:[38]) Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them *boubaes tabak*), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[33]) This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[34]) These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[35]) See above, p. 111.

[36]) This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 900 sheep. (D., July 25, 1673.)

[37]) In April 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace" (Moodie, *Record*, 349), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[38]) Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

others, who boast that they have learned many things from the Hottentots. For in the first place the Hottentots lie, and, in the second, they are determined to keep their secret remedies to themselvs. They cure colic quickly by a certain aromatic root.[56]) They employ also a certain species of Datura, as I think, called dacha.[57]) This they bray carefully, and after braying, make it into balls and eat it, as many Mahomedans do with Amsion or opium. It makes them monstrous drunk.

The umbilical cord of a new born infant they tie firmly, but do not cut back. The cord falls off by itself after a time.[58]) These details I learned from a certain Hottentot woman. I could get no further information from any source.

CHAP. XXVII.

Their Language.

If one listens to them talking, one supposes the age of Pythagoras to have returned, in which birds were fabled to have enjoyed mutual converse in speech. In sober truth it is noise, not speech, if one attends to the mode of expression of the Hottentots; for every single word is finished by a noisy click of the tongue against the echoing palate. One would not be wrong in saying that this clicking of the tongue against the palate is the main element in the sounds, but that the linking of the sounds is fetched up from their deep chests, their lips being generally rounded. The result is that they are bereft of all interchange of speech with other races; nor after all this lapse of time can one of our countrymen be found who can converse perfectly with them. Those Hottentots, however, who have lived long in the neighbourhood of the Fort, adapt themselves to our countrymen, acquiring many Dutch terms, of which they modify the terminations. They end nearly all their borrowed words in *-kom*: as *tabaqkom*, tobacco; *kortom*, a little piece; *horom*, to hear, etc. Their vernacular does not contain many roots, but the words are enriched with affixes.

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[58]) Kolb likewise says that the umbilical cord is bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; the modern Hottentots tie it half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, then cut it through above the knot, and leave the part attached to the baby to fall away by itself (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 264, 262).

Thus all birds whatsoever are called *courcour*,[59]) with the addition of particular names, e.g. *camma courcour*, an aquatic bird, be it duck, or diver, or albatross, etc.; *sickom courcour*, a young bird, *sickom* being, as often with them, a corruption of a Dutch word; *grotom* (a similar corruption) *courcour*, a big bird, by which, however, they generally mean the ostrich. They also mingle a few English terms in their language from their former dealings with that people, e.g. the word *doggues* for dog.

Pure Hottentot words in general use are:—[60])

Onkey, Dutchman.	*chou*, air.
gamma, lion.	*Ecy*, fire.
acqua, horse.	*kou*, thunder.
ouka, wolf.	*doudou*, road.
nabba, rhinoceros.	*ey*, glass bead.
goedi, sheep.	*ninimos*, bronze bead.
boeba, ox or cow.	*equa*, wood.
debitja, steers.	*kiny*, war club.
strigoos, tortoises.	*sou*, pot.
dacha, soporific herb.	*bouchou*, plant ashes.
dini, honey.	

Corrupt Dutch words are numberless:

Boe maakem goet, gunpowder; *boebasibier*, milk; *karos*, a wrap; *krallen*, huts; and others too numerous to mention.

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[59]) Both Wreede (ca. 1663) and Kolb (1719), in their vocabularies of the Cape Hottentot language, give a variety of different names in use for different species of birds (these vocabularies are reprinted by Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 215ff.), so that Ten Rhyne's observation is obviously incorrect.

[60]) Ten Rhyne's list of words, like other early vocabularies, omits the clicks and the sex endings. It is of interest to compare some of his renderings with those given for the same words by Wreede and Kolb for the Cape Hottentot language, and by Meinhof for Korana, which is a closely-allied language.

	Wreede.	*Kolb.*	*Meinhof.*
lion	TGamma	Chamma	xammi
horse	hacqua	hacqua	hab (pl. haku)
wolf (hyena)	Ouck'ha	touqva	|hukhab
rhinoceros	tnabba	nabba	! nabas
sheep	goudie	ghoudie	gus
ox, cow	dwiessa	bubaa	gomab, -s
thunder	quô	quaouw	! urub
wood	equa	hequa	—
honey	—	—	danis
war club, stick	—	Kirri	—
pot	—	—	sub

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

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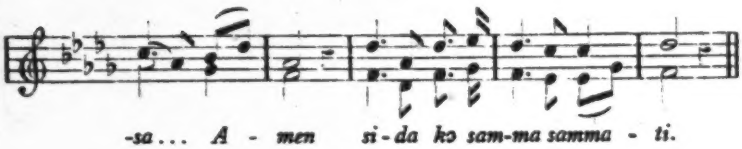
The words, translated, mean

Give me, give me!
We have taken the honey out.
This is my soul. Amen.

This particular song affords an excellent illustration of the distortion of Native words when forced into the Procrustes bed of European hymnology.

MUSICAL TERMS

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In addition to the names given to their musical instruments there are a few musical terms used by the Korana, in spite of the relatively restricted vocabulary of the language. High sounds are called *!kurise ≠nae* and low sounds *!eri doma ≠nae*. A single singer, man or woman, performing alone is */guise ≠nae*, and a chorus of men and women is called *!kɔ: ≠nae kxᵊona*. This latter name would be given to the singers in the *doro* ceremony. The sound of two voices singing the same sound simultaneously is called */kam domkwa;* but the sound of two voices singing different notes simultaneously is called *!anŋ≠nae*. These last terms indicate clearly the practical recognition of harmony among the Korana.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE VI.

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Gotis playing the *Kha:s*.

Sele:ki playing the *Goras*.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

773 and ǁ*Gaunam* in the *Black Sky*, and those two Beings fought together in former times, and Tsûiǁgoab received a blow at his knee from ǁGaunam. Tsûiǁgoam was a great chief and sorcerer among the ǃKora, and possessed numbers of cattle. Mothers also used to tell their children to beware of ǁGauna, as he is a great evil-doer, who could kill them.

In the following chapter, where we will trace all the names back to their workshop, we shall see what Tsûiǁgoab has to do with the *Red Sky*. The Koranas again say that Tsûiǁgoab made the first man, and that the snake was together with the first man on the earth. The person from whom the Rev. Wuras heard this was a man far over hundred years of age. Although this note savours much of the second chapter of Genesis, I repeat it here because throughout the Khoikhoi territory the belief is extant that in every fountain is a snake.[20]

192 776 To return to Tsûiǁgoab, I have to remark that, wherever I met colonial Khoikhoi or Namaqua, whether Christians or heathens, the word *Tsui-ǁgoatse* is used interjectionally, as we say, "*good God*," or simply "*God, what will become of me?*" &c., either as an expression of surprise or anxiety—viz., "*Tsu-ǁgoatse, who will help me?*" or "*Tsu-ǁgoatse, what have I done, that I am so severely punished?*" But it is also used as a formula of imprecation, thus:—"Tsu-ǁgoatse, sats ǂguitsa ǂan, ǂhaviota hã ǃkheië," "Oh, Tsu-ǁgoa, thou alone knowest that I am without guilt," or "ǂEits ta khemi dire, χavets ni Tsûiǁgoaba ǂan," "Do what you think, but you will know—*i.e.*, find out Tsui-ǁgoab" [that he will see your doings, that he will punish you]. Here we have a very clear instance that Tsu-ǁgoab is looked at as the avenger, similar to the Dawn, Saranyu in the Vedahs. In the following chapter we shall discuss this point more closely, when we enter on the original meaning of the name Tsûiǁgoab.

776 Here it may not be out of place to mention an incident I experienced on a journey in Great Namaqualand.

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191 In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau 192 Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this 193 is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

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Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tschu	tschu	Khóib
Man	tschu n|ō (|o = männlich)*	tschu n|ō	áob
Woman	tsau	tschau	tarás
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|oab
Daughter	daba tsauma	daba tschauma	|oas
Brother	tsng	tsng	|gasab
My brother	mé tsng	me tsng	—
Sister	tsau tsng	tsau tsng	|gas
Father	ombā	ombā	dadáb
Mother	mdei	medei	máma
Grandfather	omba n|ā (n|a = alt)**	omba n|ā	aúda
B H Grandmother	tschau |á	tschau |á	aúmama
Master	gaucha	gaucha	gáob
192 Captain of a settlement	tschu gaucha	tschu gaucha	—
Servant	ǂēi	tschu nǂoa	|ān
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damán
Betschuana	Birin	ǂgabé	Birin
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
Gobá	Gobá	ǀnavén	Ovambo from the Okovanggo
Nama	ǀá	Namán	Nama
ǀung	ǀung	—	White man
Hei ‖um	Hei ‖um	—	Heikum
ǀung	ǀung	—	Kung

2. Parts of the body

ǀné	ǀnē	tanás	Head
ǀang	ǀang	ǀaus	Neck
tsóa	ǀoa	‖áib	Breast
ǀu	ǀu	‖umss	Abdomen
ǀum	ǀum	ǀnub	Leg
ǂá	ǂá	‖oab	Arm
ǀgau	ǀgau	ǀgunub	Finger
ǂei	ǂei	ǀgunus	Toe
daug	dang	ǂaren	Buttocks
ǀō	ǀō	ǀgaab	Back
ǀnē ǀoí	ǀné ǀoi (head)	ǀub	Hair
ǀā	ǀā	mus	Eye
tsch:ung	tsch:ung	ǂguis	Nose
tschik úi	tschik úi	ǀhoums	Beard
tschik ó	tschik ó	amss	Lip
ntăli	ntăli	nami	Tongue
ts:au	ts:au	‖unss	Teeth
ǀui	ǀui	ǂgăiss	Ear
ǀum	ǀum	sonís	Navel
tá	tá	χāb	Penis
sumgó	sum gó	ǂarás	Testicles
ntχoá	ǀoá	‖oás	Knee
ǀuru	ǀuru	ǀunib	Elbow
ǀau	ǀau	ǀumi	Hand
ǀnō	ǀnō	kob	Skin
ǀu	ǀu	ǂob	Bone
ǀoi	ǀai	‖unib	Fat
ǀā	ǀā	‖ani	Flesh
ǀn	ǀng	ǀaub	Blood
ǀχai	ǀχai	ǀeisen	Ill

3. Animals

ǀó	ǀō	ǂkoab	Elephant
ǀó ǀgó	ǀo ǀgó	aure ǂkoab	male
ǀō dē	ǀo dı	tararé ǂkoas	female
ǂoá	ǂoá	ǀnaib	Giraffe
ǂoa ǀgō	ǂoa ǀgō	ǀnaib	male
ǂoa dē	ǂoa dı	tararé ǀnais	female

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Eland	ǀn	ǀn	ǀani
Hartebeest	tz:ō	itz:ō	ǂănab
Wildebeest (gnu)	ǀai	ǂnō	Gaub
Kudu	ǀóa	ǀóa	χaib
Duiker	ǀau	ǀu	ǀaub
Hog	ǀaru	ǀoa	dirib
Bird	tz:ǎba	ntχū	anin
Dog	ǂúi	ǂúi	arib
Lion	ǀeí	antei	χam
Hyena	ǁui	ǁui	ǂirab
(The word //ui evidently arose onomatopoetically, since the cry of the hyena is a distinct "hui.")			
Jackal	ǀiχa	—	ǀairib
Hare	ǀai	ǀai	ǀoab
Guinea fowl	ari	ǀnam	ǀinab
Ant	ǂu ǂu	ǀno ǀoani	ǂovirub
Horse	ǀnŏé	ǀnŏé	hab
Cattle	gummi	gummi	gumab
Bull	gummi ǀgō	gummi ǀgō	gumma ǀōb
Ox	gummi tabiχa	gummi tabiχa	gumab
Cow	gummi dé	gummi dí	tararé gumas
Calf male	tzaume ǀō	tzaume ǀō	tsaunob
female	tzaume de	tzaume dí	tsaurus
Plural male	tzaume ǀōssen	—	—
female	tzaume dēssen	—	—
Feces	sang	si	χaub
Human tracks	tschu gussen	tschu gussen	daub

4. Weapons and Tools

Bow	ǀau	ǀau	khās
Arrow	ǁau	ǁau	ǀāb
Arrow feathers	ǀui	ǀui	ǀambo
Arrow poison	k:augum	uma	ǀāb
Spear	ǀú ǀu	ǀú ǀu	ǀei goab
Iron	ǀuri (Nama)	keie	ǀurib
Stool	ǀéisson	gacho	Stuhl (Dutch)
Hook for game traps	ǀui	ǂang ǂang	—
Quiver	ǀguru	ǀguru	—
Leather loincloth of the men	sora	tsch:ora	—
Leather loincloth of the women	ǀu	ǀu	—

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
ǀei	ǀei	—	Shoulder hide of the women
ǁā	ǁā	ǀabas	Head covering
ǀoǻ	ǀõé	ǁarós	Shoe
réĩma	rẽima	ring (Dutch)	Ring
ǀõu	ǀãuma	—	Awl for leather
ǀei	ǀı	ǀos	Axe
ǀā	ǂei	goas	Knife
ǀǻ ts:u	ǂei tschu	goan ǁos	Cutting edge of a knife
da	ǀoǻ	ǀein	Wood
ǀum	ǀum	ǀuis	Stone
ts:u	ts:u	ǁaus	Settlement

5. Meteorological Concepts and Related Matters

ǀgam	ǀgam	sores	Sun
ǀui	ǀui	ǁaab	Moon
ǀnq	ǀng	ǀgamiros	Star
ǀǻ	ǀǻ	ǂoab	Wind
n ǀga	ǀgā di ǀgam	ǀanub	Rain
n ǀga	ǀga di ǀgam	ǀanu ǁaib	Rainy season
ǀnui	ǀnui	ǁaab	Month
kuli (nama)	kulika é	kuligu	Year
tschee (nama)	tschee	tzees	Day
ǀa ǀang	ǀa ǀau	ǁóaka	Morning
ǀuĩa (ǀuĩ =moon)	ǀui	ǀoẽs	Evening
ǀu	ǀu	tsúχub	Night
ǀu ǀn	ǀu di ǀn	tsuχub	Midnight
ǀgam kui	ǀaiu ǀā	middag(Dutch)	Midday
a dagẽ ǁang	kakẽ ǀgam dignau	netzees	Today
noi ǀuma	noi ǀuma	ǁari	Tomorrow
ama ǀgam nau	ǀgam dinau agaideú	ǁari	Yesterday
—	ǀgamga úndoa	aitzẽ	Day before yesterday
a ǀnaussua	a ǀnaussua	ǀaudi	Cloud
kːã	kːã	ǀovab	Sand
ǀang	ǀang	haiti	Tree
ǀang nassi	ǀang nassi	hei ǀums	Bush
ǁai	ǁai	ǀān	Grass

6. Diet and Related Matters

um	um	ǂun	Food
um	um	ǂun	To eat
natschng	natschng	ã	To drink
ǀːǻ	ǀːǻ	ǀā	Hunger

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Thirst	gam	gam	ǁā
I am hungry	mē ǀ:ā	mē ǀ:ū	—
I am thirsty	mē ǀgam	mē ǀgam	—
Spoon	hei ǂgam	hei ǂgam	ǁoab
Plate	ǀnu	ǀnu	ǀores
Pot	kǃō	kǃō	suss
Fire	ndā	ndā	ǀeis
Fire apparatus of stone	ǂoro (nama)	ǂoro (nama)	dorós
Fire apparatus of wood (twirling sticks)	dáni (ndā=Feuer)	dángl	—
To cook	ǀnoa	ǀnoa	sai
Meat	ǀā	ǀā	ǁani
Water	ǀu	ǀu	ǁami
Tobácco	maka (Herero)	maka (Herero)	Tabak(Dutch)
To smoke	χei	χl	ǂei
Give me something to eat	na χei	—	—
Pipe	ǀnō	ǀō	ǀos
Milk	gu	gu	dai
Egg	ǀu	tschǃunu	ǀuwus
Fat	ǀai	ǀai	ǁunib
To roast	schang (nama)	ǀánussen	sang
Kind of nut (veld crop)	ǀō	ǀā	ǁnaun

(Described in the text under No. 11.)

7. Verbs

(The prefix haga- expressing the infinitive has been omitted.)

Sleep	tsǃă	tsǃă	ǁum
Go	ū	ū	ǀung
Say	ǀnoa	ǀnoa	mi
Tell me	ǀnoa mē	ǀnoa mē	—
Make, do	ō	ō	di
See	hassé	hahoa	mo, go
Sit	ǀō	ǀō	ǂgu
Hit	ǂam	ǀū	ǂnau
Seize	ngū	gúa	ǀkō
Kill	ǀung	ǀá du	ǀam
Shoot (with bow)	tχā	ǀā	ǁau
Rifle	ǀabu (nama)	ǀnoǎ	ǀabús
Run	ǀgū	ǀgǎ	ǀóē
Stand	nǁgǎ	ǀnu	mā
Laugh	tsi	tsi	āi
Hear	tsǃā	hatsǃā	ǁau
Smell	ǀu	ǀu	ǀaba

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
ga ǀn	ga ǀn	tzătză	Taste
nds:ǂō	ǀō	ǀurib	Feel
ǀóa	ǁāzo	ǁassen	Wash oneself
ǀabi (nama)	ha ǀuru	ǀabi	Ride
zχáni	demzam	ǂū	Dance
ǀa ńa	ǀa ńa	ǀaia ǂau	Enjoy oneself
dzn	ha ǀau	ǀā	Be sad
ǀnai	ǀnai	nā	Bite
me ǁei ǁei	—	ǀore	Request
ǀā	ǀāma	batale(Dutch)	Pay
ǁama (nama)	ǁama (nama)	ǁamá	Buy
ǀhei	ǀhei	ǀau	Cut
ǁn	ǁn	ǀei	Tie, fasten
kora	kora	oré	Untie, loosen

8. Adjectives

gats:ǂă	gats:ǂă	ǀei	Good
ga ǀau	ga ǀau	zua	Evil
tχā	goá	ǀham	Cowardly
ga ǀum (very)	ǀum	isá	Beautiful
kui	dā	ǀgam	Hot
ǀā	ǀá	ǀaib	Cold
tz:ǀ	ǀu (= water)	ǀa	Wet
ǀau	ǀu ǀé	ǂnasa	Dry
ze ǀau	ǀau	ǀuli	White
ǀang	ǀang	ǀamr	Green
ǂangsaen	ǁdaun	ǀóa	Blue
dschō	dschō	ǂnaú	Black
ǀā	ǀā	ǀuni	Yellow
ǀaissen	ǀā	ǀabá	Red
ǀósse	ǀā?	ǀaisse	Rapid
auts:eá	aussehaú	ǀausse	Slow
ts:éma	ts:éma	subusse	Soft
ǀχǀ	ǀχǀ	ǀarisse	Loud
ǀχóa ǀχei	ǀχóa	ǂgausib	Healthy
ǀχai	ǀχai	ǀaissen	Sick
ǀgao	ǀgao	ǀgeissa	Strong
schui	ǀχá	subu	Weak
ǀai oder ǀē	ǀē	ǁōb	Dead
ǀoa ǀē	ǀoa ǀē	odide	Alive
ǀang	ǀáo	gáro	Hard
kam	kam	tsau(ra)	Soft

9. Personal Pronouns

mē or mēhí	me	dita	I
tschoē é	tschoē é	saatz	You

9. Personal Pronouns (cont.)

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English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
He	ǂ̀hng	ǂ̀hng	//eib
We	tschússe	tschússe	sáta
You	ts!ǂ̀	ts!ǂ̀	sado
They	ǂ̀hng(?)	tschudi tsch!ǂ̀	//ēin

10. Possessive Pronouns

My	mḕhng	mḕhng	ti
Your	tschoë ē (?)	atschi (?)	sa
His	ǂ̀hng(?)	ǂ̀hing(?)	//ēib
Our	tsu /ǂ̀	wesse tschisch hug(?)	—
Your	mi dsú	mi tsú	—
Their	i /ǂ̀	(?)	—

The forms followed by (?) could not be ascertained with certainty.

11. Interrogatives

When?	ǂum katewa	—	ma /b ai
Where?	kole wǂ̀	—	mǂ̀ pa
How?	kole wǂ́	—	mǂ̀ pa
Why?	disse wǂ̄	—	dein /ǂ̀roma
What?	atchíssi	atchíssi	tǂ̀re

12. Plural Formation

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193 In Heikum, as in Kung, the plural is formed by affixing sen to the stem of the substantive; for example:

/ā eye,
/āsen eyes.

/oí hair,
/oísen hairs.